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[Part 3

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
GANGANATHA JHA  
RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD





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LIFE AND WORK OF  
SHRI BAL GANGADHAR SHASTRI.\*

By SHRI M. S. ANEY

I thank the members of the *Research Institute* for the honour they have done in asking me to address the distinguished audience assembled at its annual meeting. You had in the past a number of distinguished scholars as speakers on such occasions. But this year your choice has fallen on one who cannot claim a seat in the galaxy of learned men. The past speakers had used this platform to read learned theses on some important problem of oriental research or to give you some luminous instructions to facilitate your progress in the field of research. I cannot do anything of the kind. It seems to me that you have been fed to satiety by the learned men with rich intellectual food. And you now feel the need of a change and desire some *chutni*, sour and pungent, to revive your appetite. I can surely describe your choice this time in the following felicitous words of Kālidāsa :—

‘पिण्डस्वर्जरेहि उर्वेजिदस्स तित्तिलीए अमिलास’ इव

---

\* Speech delivered by H. E. Shri M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar, at the Annual Meeting of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad on April 9, 1949.



I am sure that you will be magnanimous in dealing with me. I very much stand in need of it.

Ladies and gentlemen, from times immemorial the sacred city of Allahabad has been always known to us as the sacred Tirtha of the Trivenī, the confluence of Gaṅgā Yamunā and Saraswatī. Its sanctity has been attracting millions of pilgrims every year. Like the sacred stream, the stream of pilgrims also has been flowing in an unbroken and uninterrupted line from the oldest times known to history.

Similarly, for the pilgrims who have been working for the emancipation of our country during the last fifty years it has also been a sacred place of worship, sanctified by the presence of three front-rank patriots of India, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. This trinity of Allahabad, or ancient *Prayāga*, has made a contribution to the political emancipation and cultural revival of the people of Bhāratavarṣa which it is possible only for the future historians to assess at its proper value. All the three have laid their countrymen under an eternal debt of obligations by their selfless services and sacrifices.

This Institute has lost in Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru not merely its founder and first President, but its friend, philosopher and guide. I pay my humble tribute to the memory of that Great Patriot who lived in a grandeur of isolation of his own, apart like a star shining in its own glory, but always illuminating the path with its rays of wisdom and sagacity. Indian public men of all shades of opinion looked up to him in the same way as the navigators do to the loadstar. His death relieved him from prolonged physical agonies. But it has created a big void which there is little hope of being filled up in the near future.

You know much more than I do how the present Insti-



tute owes its birth and wonderful progress it has made during the past few years to Sir Tej Bahadur's profound love and regard for India's ancient culture, her richest heritage. The report just read out and the published volumes of the Jha Institute Journal give a clear idea of the achievements of the Institute in research and other fields of allied activities.

After the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society in England the research work was done by European scholars only. India will remain ever grateful to those great European learned men who studied the Asiatic classical languages and literatures and laboured hard to glean therefrom the grains to build the history of the Asiatic cultures and present them to the world in a form intelligible to them. They collected all sorts of materials, manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, folk-lore, relics of cultures buried underground, astronomical data and geological strata. They literally travelled from earth to heaven, dived deep into the seas to their very bottom and entered into the bowels of the earth to examine her secret recesses and processes of formation. Specimens of bones, stones, coins, pottery, cutlery, jewellery, idols, clay, wood, metals, houses, drains, baths, graves—all have been collected, catalogued, studied and requisitioned in-to service as far as possible.

Ancient Aryans and Dravids were praised by the scholars for their literary, cultural and artistic achievements in the past from the times of the Holy Vedas to the period of the growth of vernacular classics. But they have been all along complaining of a strangely unaccountable paucity of works on history. In spite of this handicap these scholars have pieced together the facts gleaned from scattered materials and have now succeeded in giving us a correct and continuous account of the rise and fall of Indian culture from the period of



the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra to the times of Bābar. Even in this period there are many gaps that require to be filled up.

Without minimising the importance of the work done by European scholars, I venture to say that a real and inspiring history of Bhāratavarṣa and its culture cannot be written by scholars other than Indian. It was therefore necessary that Indian scholars should take interest in this important branch of learning and the school of Indian research scholarship should grow.

I think that no Indian scholar had any chance of doing any research work in Indian history prior to the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1784. The credit for it also goes to Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, who is rightly described as the founder of the modern Indian scholarship. A considerable number of scholars in Bengal has distinguished themselves in the research work. Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgar, Dr. Rājendra Lal Mitra, R. C. Dutt and Haraprasad Śāstri are the names of orientlists with whose works the oriental scholars all over the world are familiar. The Bombay Royal Asiatic Society came into existence some time in the year 1805. Its membership was at first confined only to Europeans. Oriental scholars are well aware of the names of scholars like Dr. Bhāu Dajī, Dr. R. G. Bhandārkar, R. S. Mandalik and J. Telang for the literary work done by them, mainly in the field of elucidating inscriptions. They are generally regarded as the first Indians to enter the field of research study in Western India. But the volumes of the Royal Asiatic Society of India's Bombay Branch show that the first Indian to make contributions to that journal, particularly on inscriptions, was one Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstri Jambhekar, a man of great learning, who rose very rapidly to an eminent



position in the Educational Service of the Government of Bombay and the public life of the city of Bombay. He unluckily died in the prime of his youth at the age of 35. In the literary circles of Bombay and Maharashtra the name of Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstri Jambhekar has been known as one of the earliest writers of books in Marāṭhī and so to say, one of the founders of the modern Marāṭhī prose literature. But very little about the life and work of this first and great oriental scholar of Bombay was known.

The following quotation from the speeches made by late J. Chandavarkar can show you in what high esteem the late Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstri was held. While speaking on a resolution expressing sorrow on the death of the late J. Ranade at a meeting of the students of the Elphinstone College in 1901 J. Chandavarkar said :

“ . . . Mr. Ranade was undoubtedly the premier of graduates—the best Elphinstonian—and there is no one among our educated men, either of the past or of the present, with whom we can compare him unless we go back to the forties of the past century and think of Professor Bal Shastri Jambhekar, the first native professor appointed to a chair in this institution. Those who knew Professor Jambhekar—men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the late Mr. Sorabjee Shāpoorjee Bengalee who were his pupils spoke of him as a man of brilliant parts, and many-sided activities, simple and kind; but he died too early—at the age of 35—to enable any one to form a correct measure of what he might have been had he lived longer.”

Again, speaking at a centenary celebration of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 18th of January, 1905, he made the following complimentary reference to the memory of Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar :—

“ I propose to speak of those Hindoo scholars only who are no more, because as for the living, they are there yet working, and we all know their work and worth. The first antiquarian scholar



among Hindoos who enriched the literature of this Society was Professor Bal Shastree Jambhekar. He was something of a genius—as skilled a mathematician and literary scholar as he was an erudite Shastri. His papers on several inscriptions are among the earliest records of our Society, and are even now worth perusal. He died at the early age of 35, but even then he had acquired a great reputation as a scholar and antiquarian."

Throughout the period of one hundred years that has elapsed since the death of Bal Shastri we find eminent writers referring to his work. But all these references are extremely meagre, perfunctory and vague. One Mr. B. N. Deo, a writer of some distinction in Marathi, had published a small biography of this distinguished scholar about 1893. But it failed to attract proper attention even of those literary men of Mahārāṣṭra who were interested in the historical growth and development of Marathi language and literature.

A few persons of Bombay held public meetings to celebrate the centenary of death of this great scholar on 17th and 23rd of May, 1946. Even these meetings were meagrely attended. It is really very distressing to note that the enlightened public of Bombay should have at the end of a century no sense of gratefulness left in them for the man who had worked hard to serve the people in various ways and was in a way a Guru of many notable persons, some of whom later on distinguished themselves as men of lead and light in the public life, not only of Bombay, but of the whole nation.

It is, however, gratifying to see that nearly a century after his death this great man of Bombay was fortunate to get a scholar to write his biography. Mr. G. G. Jambhekar, a scholar and a renowned Marathi writer and journalist, took upon himself to collect the materials and write his life. This unique biography is now printed and awaiting its publication. I am grateful to Mr. Jambhekar for permitting me to use his as yet unpublish-



ed work for the purpose of this lecture. He has by his indefatigable labour collected very valuable and authentic materials and made them available to the readers of the book. Thus he has admirably succeeded in presenting to the Marathi readers a good many details about the life of Bal Shastri, throwing light on his manifold public activities with which his short life was crowded.

Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar, the father of Balshastri, was a Sanskrit Pandit residing at the village Pambhurla in Deogarh tahsil in Konkan, that small, narrow strip of land, bounded by the Sahyadri on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west, which has given to Maharashtra many of her bold statesmen, brave generals and brilliant scholars during the period of Maratha supremacy and in the British regime also. Peshwas and many of their generals and statesmen came from this land known as Parashuram Kshetra. Most of the big men who have attained eminence as leaders of public opinion in the Bombay Presidency also belonged to the class of Chitpavana Brahmans who migrated to Poona and Bombay from this part. To name only a few J. Ranade, Dr. Bhandarkar, Lokamanya Tilak, Professor Gopalrao Gokhale. They were either residents of Konkon or born of parents who were in Konkon. Gangadhar Shastri had two sons, of whom Balshastri was the younger. He was born about the year 1812. He died on the 17th of May, 1846. His existence in this mortal world was only for a brief period of 35 years.

Balshastri's father taught him Marathi and Sanskrit till he was 12 or 13 years old. In 1826 he joined the English school run by the Native Education Society at Bombay. The young boy was extraordinarily bright. In four years he mastered Sanskrit grammar, rhetoric and literature, English grammar and composition and Marathi grammar and composition. He acquired know-



ledge of Gujrati and Bengali and made a beginning of the study of Persian. Besides languages he studied geography and mathematics, including logarithms and mensuration of planes and solids. His intelligence and quick grasp seemed to have impressed the teachers and the school authorities within two years of his joining the school. He was raised to the situation of a tutor of mathematics some time in 1827.

He was appointed Deputy Native Secretary of the Society in 1830 when he was only 17 years old. In 1832 he was promoted to the position of the Native Secretary on a salary of Rs. 100 per month. In the same year he was appointed a special tutor to the young Prince of Akalkot State. In 1834 the Elphinstone College was started and Balshastri was selected by the Government of Bombay for the post of Assistant Professor in that college. He mainly taught mathematics to the students. Professor Orlebar and Professor Harkness were sent from England to serve as professors of mathematics and physics respectively in the college. Balshastri seems to have prosecuted his studies of these subjects under these two renowned professors and completely mastered them. He acquired proficiency to such an extent that in the absence of Professor Orlebar on leave for 2 years from 1842 to 1844 he had the unique honour of being appointed acting Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science. He was perhaps the first Indian to be appointed a Professor in a college in India. In 1840 Balshastri was appointed Superintendent of the Board of Education. He had to do this work in addition to his duties as Professor in the Elphinstone Institution. As a Superintendent of Education in charge of one of the Divisions of the Bombay Presidency he worked enthusiastically and helped the Department of Education a good deal in laying the foundations of the system of primary education in those



early days. His reports are very lucid, informative and suggestive.

It will be interesting to know the names of some of his students. Dadabhai Naoroji, 'grand old man of India,' was one of them. Dr. Bhau Daji the distinguished orientalist, Nana Moroji the well-known Presidency Magistrate of Bombay and later the Prime Minister of Indore, Professor Kero Nama Chattrā the first Indian Professor of Mathematics in the Deccan College of Poona, are also among his students. All of them felt to the end of their lives proud of having learnt at the feet of Balshastri, for whom they had tremendous respect. Dadabhai, in a letter written in 1909, has paid a remarkable tribute to his teacher and professor, Balshastri: "I know him only as a teacher and indeed as a very able, tactful, amiable and wise teacher. He was kind and interested in his pupils. We looked up to him with great respect and admiration as much for his learning as for his whole character."

Balshastri was not merely a teacher and an educationist in the ordinary sense. He wrote books in Marathi for the use of the students in schools on various subjects, and they were in use as text books, in the schools of the Bombay Presidency for more than twenty-five years after his death. I give below the list of the Marathi books of which he is the author:—(1) *Nītikathā*, (2) *Sāra-Saṅgraha*, (3) *Bālavyākaraṇa*, (4) *Bhūgola Vidyā* (Geography), (5) *Bhūgola Sastra*, (6) *England Deshaṇi Bakhr* (Chronicles of England), Vol. 1 and 2, (7) *Hindustan-cha Itihas*, and (8) *History of British Rule in India*. He wrote a work in Marathi on Integral and Differential calculus, and for some time before his death was engaged in writing a work on Psychology in Marathi.

It is really extraordinary that he could spare time, notwithstanding his duties as Professor and Superin-



tendent, for writing so many books. In the discharge of his duties as superintendent he had to travel considerably in bullockcarts. Balshastri was a man of versatile genius, and he had no difficulty in mastering any subject or language.

He was the first Hindu in western India to take up copper-plate reading. It appears that he deciphered and interpreted 7 or 8 copper-plates. His article on Kharapatan copper-plate was published in the R.A.S.I. Journal of the Bombay Branch in April 1843. His notes thereon are critical. His suggestions to reconcile certain discrepancies between the genealogies of Yādava kings in this plate and in other plates published by some European scholars are very ingenious. On reading these notes one cannot but feel that oriental scholarship in western India received a terrific blow by his sudden and premature death at the age of 35. The editor of the *B.P.R.A.S. Journal*, in Vol. II (July 1844 to July 1847) referring to the death of Bal Gangadhar Shastri, says "In the death of the late Bal Gangadhar Shastri, remarkable among the native community for his great talent and acquirements, the Society has lost a valuable and most useful contributor to Indian inscriptions—the branch to which Professor Lassen has particularly called the attention of our members as being the only means of obtaining a clear and authentic knowledge of the early history of this country."

Similarly, in a review of the lights and shades of the East and a study of the late Baboo Haris Chandar in the year 1863, the editor of *Rast Gofar*, one of the oldest journals of Bombay, pays a tribute to Balshastri as follows :—

"The late lamented Mr. Bal Gangadhar Shastree, Professor of the Elphinstone College, was the author of many valuable contributions to the Journal of the Bombay



Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on ancient inscriptions and antiquities of India. He has compiled several excellent tracts and books, which are still used in the Government Educational Department. He was also the English editor of the Bombay Durpun, the first Anglo-Vernacular newspaper published in Western India, and of the Dig Durshun, the first Murathee Magazine of science and literature. As a scholar and mathematician he has not been surpassed by any other Native. His death was regarded as a national calamity in this part of the country. Sir Erskine Perry, a friend and a well-wisher of our countrymen, mourned his loss, and paid a just tribute to his memory from the bench of late Supreme Court. He was not inferior, but in many respects superior, to the late Baboo Harischandar."

I shall now make a brief reference to other important activities of Balshastri. He started a newspaper called *Bombay Darpan*. It was bilingual. The Marathi portion was only a translation of the articles and notes in English. He conducted it with great ability from 1832 to 1840. He seemed to have earned the good opinion of Europeans and educated Indians alike by this publication. Sir J. Carnack, who was then the Governor of Bombay, in 1840 appointed him as justice of the peace, an honour which was till then mostly conferred on millionaires of Bombay only. This 'Darpan' is the first journal in Marathi started by a Hindu. He also edited a monthly magazine in Marathi called *DigDarshana*, which was also the first of its kind. But both these journals were discontinued in his life-time.

I think that I should not conclude this brief sketch of Balshastri without making a reference to his efforts as a social reformer. In starting periodicals one of his objects was to counteract the effects of the anti-Hinduism propaganda that was carried on by the Christian missionaries from the platform and through the press. A young boy called Shripad, who was converted to Chris-



tianity, was readmitted by him into Hinduism. He worked hard and suffered much to win over the orthodox Shastris of Bombay and Poona to his view. But he courageously suffered the harassment and ultimately succeeded in his object.

For the sake of getting this young boy back to the custody of his Hindu father he had to file an application to the Supreme Court for habeas corpus against one Rev. Nisbet, who was probably the head of the missionary organisation. The Supreme Court passed an order in favour of the father.

He also upheld the cause of the remarriage of child widows and wrote a good deal on the subject. He had to incur the displeasure of his brother Shastris who were against this reform.

He was the founder of the Self-Improvement Society, at which men like Dadabhai Naoroji and other took their first lessons in patriotism. This Society was the nucleus of the Bombay Literary and Scientific Society, whose activities were well known to the literary public.

His death was deeply deplored all over the Bombay presidency. A reference to his death in appreciative terms was made by the Hon'ble Sir T. E. Perry, Puisne judge of the Supreme Court :

“And in reference to this point I cannot but advert with the deepest regret to the great loss which your body and the whole community has sustained since our last session in the death of the late Bal Gangadhar Shastree. To the wide range of information and the enlightened morality resulting from an excellent European education, to the most solid and rare attainment in science and literature, both European and Asiatic;—and to the influence which was the just and natural result of a character and mind thus distinguished and adorned, he added an anxiety and zeal for Native improvement which I have never seen equalled; and which have



forcibly impressed upon my mind the conviction that the loss of no individual in Bombay, European or Native, of whatever rank, could prove so great a calamity to Western India as that of our lamented friend, the late Bal Shastree."

The Board of Education also referred to the loss sustained by the death of Balshastri in its report for the year 1846 :—

" Bal Shastree united in an eminent degree the highest quantities which a paternal Government would look for on the part of one who devotes himself to the business of the instruction of youth. His attainments in science, his conversance with European literature, in English composition enabled him to take a high place among the best scholars of the day, but in addition to this acquired knowledge, his simple unostentatious department, and unwearied efforts on behalf of his countrymen ensured him the respect and regard of all the Europeans to whom he was intimately known: while on the other hand, the zeal and industry with which he devoted the far greater part of each 24 hours to the best interests of his countrymen, with no other regard to self than is involved in the love of praise from those whose praise is worth acquiring, secured for him an influence as extensive in range as it was beneficial in character."

Such was the man who worked for his countrymen more than 100 years ago.

It is our duty in Free India to recall to our mind the good work done by the Pioneers in the early days to awaken our countrymen, and express our gratitude to them for showing them some light in the darkness that was engulfing the nation. Bal Gangadhar Shastri is undoubtedly one of those Pioneers. He had done much to earn the gratitude of his countrymen and he certainly deserves a place of honour in the gallery of the national heroes



that brightened the western horizon of India in the early days of the British rule by intellectual work and patriotic services.

I conclude this sketch after bowing my head in reverence to his hallowed memory.



## NOTES ON THE USE OF FIRE APPLIANCES IN ANCIENT INDIA, GREECE AND ROME

By P. K. GODE

IN his *Technical Sciences and Arts of the Ancients*,<sup>1</sup> Dr Alburk Neuburger records some valuable information about ancient *Fire-Appliances*<sup>2</sup>, the following points from which are note-worthy:

- (1) The real development in the technique of lighting and heating began when man acquired certain skill in making up fires by the use of fire-appliances.
- (2) The place and date of the origin of fire-appliances is lost in the obscurity of pre-historic ages.
- (3) Appliances which produced ignition by the friction of wood against wood are found among all the people of antiquity and even in pre-historic periods.
- (4) In the Homeric *Hymn to Herms* (108-114; See Sikes and Allen's Notes) we have a description<sup>3</sup> of the fire-drill in a simple form.
- (5) Wood of the *laurel* was employed by the Greeks and Romans for a very long time for the purpose of ignition.

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<sup>1</sup> Trans. by H. L. Brose, London (Methuen & Co.), 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, pp. 233—234.

<sup>3</sup> This description reads as follows:—

“And he brought together much *wood* and sought after the art of fire. A fair bough of *laurel* he took and smoothed it to a point (?) with iron *and therewith drilled*, for well it fitted his hand, till a hot breath arose. Yea, Hermes first of all produced *fire sticks* and fire. And much *dry wood* he took; in a trench in the earth, in bundles (?) did he lay it in great abundance; and the flame gleamed, shooting forth after a jet of fire that is mickle of might.”



- (6) Pliny (XVI, 208) describes the method of making fire as follows:—

“Wood is rubbed on wood and this friction causes fire which is attracted to the dry tinder. There is nothing more suitable for this purpose than *ivy* and *laurel* the former to be rubbed and the latter to produce the rubbing. But *clematis* and other creepers have also answered the same purpose well.”

- (7) Other fire-appliances were also known to the ancients as follows:—

- (i) In Greece and Rome *steel* and *tinder* were used in combination with not only ordinary *flint* but also *pyrites* and other kinds of suitable stone. (*Pliny*, XXXVI, 138).
- (ii) Fire was made with the help of *concave mirrors* (composed of bronze and covered with silver foil) already known in 640 B. C.
- (iii) *Lenses* were made of *rock-crystal* or *glass* as has been proved by Layard's discovery in the palace of *Assur-nazir-pal* at Nineveh.
- (iv) *Aristophanes* (450—385 B. C.) says in his comedy THE CLOUDS (767) that a *burning lens*, such as *strepsiades* uses in order to rid himself of a debt of fine talents by melting a wax-tablet, is also *used for lighting fire*.
- (v) If the sacred flame went out in Rome it was ignited again, according to Plutarch, by means of *bronze or silver concave mirrors* or *burning lenses*.



- (vi) The burning lenses were sometimes made of *rock-crystal* (*Pliny* XXXVII, 28 and *Isidore*, XVI, 13.
- (vii) The story about Archimedes setting the Roman fleet on fire by means of concave mirrors at the siege of Syracuse is a myth as such an act was technically impossible.

In the above remarks on the fire-appliances of the ancients there is no reference to the ancient Indian fire-appliances, about which we get many references in Vedic and post-vedic literature.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Griffith's Trans. of *Rgveda* (Benares) 1896. Vol. I—Production of fire by attrition, pp. 14, 195, 342. 380—Vol. II, 1897—pp. 1, 201, 386, 389, 495, 559. In foot-note on p. 186 Griffith records *Sāyana's* reference to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* I, 16 which describes how the fire produced by friction from the two *araṇis* (fire-sticks) is thrown into the *Āhavanīya* fire, in the *Ati-thyesti* ceremony—See also the note on p. 426 where reference is made to the *araṇis* of *Samī* and *Āśvattha* trees, which when rubbed together produce fire.

In the Index to the *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford, 1910) there are many references to *Fire* (pp. 205 ff). I note a few of them as follows :—

- (1) *Fire produced by the two araṇis*—Vol. XV. 236 sq. (Upanisads).
- (2) *Churning the Fire*—Vol. XIX (Fo-sho-hing-tsan-King) pp. 161, 174, 302; Vol. XXVI (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*) pp. 90-92; Vol. XLII (*Atharvaveda*) pp. 460 sq.; Vol. XLIV (*Śatapatha Br.*) p. 188; XLVI (*Vedic Hymns*) pp. 302—306;
- (3) *Means of producing Fire*—Vol. XX (*Vinaya Texts*) pp. 292, and 292n.; Vol. XXVII (*Texts of Confucianism*), p. 449 sq.; Vol. XXXV (*Milinda*) pp. 85, 85n.
- (4) *Producing the Sacred Fire*—Vol. XII (*Śatapatha Br.*) pp. 275, 292—95; 293 n., 294 sq. n., 311 sq., 389, 389 n,
- (5) *Two kindling sticks handed over to the sacrificer* Vol. XXIX (*Gṛhya Sūtras*) pp. 265—8.
- (6) *Purūravas becomes a Gandharva by sacrificing with fire produced by two araṇis of the Āśvattha tree*—Vol XLIV, 73 sq. (*Śatapatha Br.*).
- (7) *Rubbing of fire by two fire-sticks represented as an act of generation*—Vol. XLVI (*Vedic Hymns*), 302, 304 sq.



Agni *Vaiśvānara* is the fire of digestion in the bodies of living beings (*Bhagavadgīta* XV, 14). Accordingly in the *Caraka Saṁhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* Chap. 27, अन्नपानविधि verse 342), we are told that this *agni* or fire is the very basis of life, health and strength provided it is kept constantly burning by food and drink, otherwise it dies out:—

(“बलमारोग्यमायुश्च प्राणाश्चाग्नौ प्रतिष्ठिताः ।

अन्नपानेन्धनैश्चाग्निर्ज्वलति व्येति चान्यथा ॥३४२॥”)

Right kind of fuel in the form of food and drink should be supplied to this internal fire in proper proportions and at proper times and a person doing so for his own internal fire may be aptly called *āhitāgni*:—

(“हिताभिर्जुहुयान्नित्यमन्तरग्निं समाहितः ।

अन्नपानसमिद्भिर्ना मात्राकालौ विचारयन् ॥३४५॥

आहिताग्निः सदा पथ्यान्यन्तरग्नौ जुहोति यः ।”)

What is true of human digestion and its basis the *antaragni* or internal fire is equally true of animal digestion. Accordingly in the celebrated treatise on the care and treatment of elephants called the *Hastyaśrveda* of *Pālakūpya* (Pub. by the Ānandashram, Poona, 1894) we are informed that the internal fire or gastric fire in the case of elephants is situated at the navel of the elephant and from this basis it functions:—

Page 379 :—

“अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि बहिर्यत्रावतिष्ठति ।

जाठरः, पृथिवीपाल, नाभावग्निः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥८३॥

सम्यक्पचति तत्रस्थमाहारं तु चतुर्विधम् ।

यथाग्निर्विपचेद्बाह्यो जलं स्थालीमदूषयन् ॥८४॥

दीतः सम्यक्परिक्लिन्नास्तण्डुलानेवमेव तु ।

आमाशयविभागार्थं नाभ्यामग्निः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥८५॥”

(8) *Samidhs* (Kindling Sticks)—XII (*Śatapatha Br.*) 400 n. XLIV (*Śatapatha Br.*) 567.

(9) *Dhīṣṇyas* or hearths—XXVI (*Śatapatha Br.*) 147—155, 148 n. etc.

(10) Fire-pan (*ukhā*) XLI (*Śatapatha Br.*) 229—46 and XLIV, 579.



The close analogy between the internal fire or gastric fire (*antaragni* or *Jatharāgni*) and the external fire (*agni*) is brought home to our mind by the author of the *Hastyāyurveda* in the following extract :—

Page 316 :—

“अग्नेर्विवर्धमानस्य पानं भोजनमिष्यते ।

यथा हि<sup>5</sup> मथनादग्निः स्वल्पोऽरणिं<sup>6</sup> समुत्थितः ॥

पूर्वं गोमयचूर्णेन ततस्तृणेन वै नृप ।

क्रमशस्तनुभिः काष्ठैः स्थूलैश्च तदनन्तरम् ॥

विवृद्धः स दहेद्दीतः काष्ठभारशतान्यपि ।

एवं गजानां विधिवच्छनैरग्निरुदीरितः ॥

भुक्तं सर्वमशेषेण दहत्यग्निरिवेन्धनम् ।”

An elephant should be given drink and food as his appetite or *gastric fire* increases. We see in actual life how *fire*, churned out of the *fire-sticks* or *aranis* small as it is, increases, being fed first by cow-dung powder then by *grass*, then gradually by *small* and *great sticks*. In this increased form this fire blazes forth and being fed by hundreds of wooden sticks consumes completely every kind of fuel put into it. In a like manner functions the appetite or the gastric fire of the elephant, provided it is stimulated or kindled gradually.

The above passage is important for the history of Indian fire-appliances as it describes in a graphic manner the materials used for kindling the fire-spark produced

<sup>5</sup> The passage “यथाहि .... इन्धनम्” is also found recorded in an earlier context on p. 314 of the *Hastyāyurveda* (A. S. S., 1894, Poona).

<sup>6</sup> The *Subdekalpadruma* (Khandu I, Calcutta, 1886, p. 93) records the following quotations about अरणि—

(i) “विपक्षवक्षोऽरणिमन्थनोत्थः

प्रतापवह्नेरिव धूमलेखा”—इति धनञ्जयव्यायोगे ॥

(ii) “विधिना मन्त्रयुक्तेन रूक्षाऽपि मथिताऽपि च ।

प्रयच्छति फलं भूमिररणीव हुताशनम्” —इति पञ्चतन्त्रे



from the rubbing of the *araṇis* or fire-sticks, which are mentioned in early vedic texts. These materials are (1) dry cow-dung powder (2) grass (3) smaller wood sticks and (4) greater wood-sticks.

The vedic simile of the rubbing of fire-sticks as representing an act of generation is also repeated in the *gerbhāvakraṇṭi* section of the *Hastyāyurveda* (p. 412) as follows :—

“यथा ह्यरण्यां ज्वलनं सूक्ष्मो यत्नेन दृश्यते ॥८६॥

एवं मैथुनयत्नेन जन्तोः शुक्रं हि दृश्यते ।”

In the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* of Vāgbhata I (*Sūtrasthāna* ed., by V. R. Kinjawadikar, Poona, 1940, p. 22) we find the analogy between *agni* and *jaṭharāgni* in the following instructions about ऋतुचर्या in the हेमन्त ऋतुः—

“देहोष्माणो विशन्तोन्तः शीते शीतानिलाहताः ।

जठरे पीडितोष्माणं प्रबलं कुर्वतेऽनलम् ॥११॥

In the *Cikitsāsthāna* (Ch. 12) of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* the importance of जाठराग्नि as the basis of life and strength is emphasized in the following line :—

“अग्निमूलं बलं पुंसां बलमूलं हि जीवितम्” ।

Human strength is based on appetite or *agni* and human life depends on strength.

In the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* of Vāgbhata II (ed. by Harishastri Paradkar, Bombay, 1939) the importance of appetite or जाठराग्नि is mentioned in the following verses of the शारीरस्थान (p. 401) :

“अन्नस्य पक्ता सर्वेषां पक्वृणामधिको मतः ।

तन्मूलास्ते हि तद्वृद्धिर्क्षयवृद्धिक्षयात्मकाः ॥७१॥

तस्मात्तं विधिवद्युक्तैरन्नपानेनैर्नैर्हितैः ।

पालयेत्प्रयतस्तस्य स्थितौ ह्यायुर्बलस्थितिः ॥७२॥

Of all fires, the fire that consumes food is superior (the commentator explains :—



“सर्वेषां पक्कां मध्ये योऽन्नस्य पक्ता पाचकः जाटराग्निः सोऽधिको मतः वलीयानभिप्रेतः” ।

The Vedic literature is full of references to the production of fire by the use of *araṇis* (fire-sticks). It appears, however, from the following extract in the *Pañcarātra* text called the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* (c. A.D. 455 A.D.)<sup>7</sup> that the ancient Indians knew three methods of producing fire viz. (1) Fire from *araṇis*, (2) Fire from a *Sūrya-Kānta* and (3) Fire from the friction of iron and stone :—

Page 137 (जयाख्यसंहिता, ed., Embar Krishnamacharya G. O. Series. Baroda, 1931)—Chapter or Paṭala 15 called अग्निकार्यविधान—(वह्नेः उत्पादनक्रमः)

“आदौ च भगवच्छ्रुतेर्वह्नेः उत्पादनाय च ॥५८॥

आदायारणिजं चाग्निं सूर्यकान्तोद्भवं तु वा ।

लोहपाषाणजं वाऽथ अदृष्टं लौकिकं तु वा ॥५९॥

तैजसे ताम्रपात्रेऽमृगमयेऽभिनवे तथा ।”

I have already recorded in this paper numerous references to the अरणिज fire but the references to the सूर्यकान्तोद्भव fire and the लोहपाषाणज fire need to be collected and recorded. I am of opinion that the लोहपाषाणज fire is that produced by the friction of लोह (iron) and पाषाण (stone). This method of fire production ( वह्नि-उत्पादन) is still current in India in villages. In the Mahārāṣṭra the apparatus for this method is called चक्रमक which consists of (1) a piece of *flint*, (2) a piece of *steel* and (3) some dry *tinder*. This reference to the लोहपाषाणजवह्नि of c. A. D. 450 is very important as it proves the antiquity of this method of fire-production in India corresponding to the use of *steel*, *tinder* and *flint*

<sup>7</sup> Vide p. 34 of Dr. Bhattacharyya's foreword to the *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā*. Dr. Bhattacharyya observes :—

“ We shall not be far from the truth if we place the date of composition of the above work only on palaeographical grounds in about 450 A.D.”



for fire-production mentioned by Pliny (A.D. 79) in his *Natural History* (XXXVI, 138).

Some old references to the सूर्यकान्तोद्भव fire in sanskrit sources are as follows:—

(1) In the remarks on the *Vaiśvānara* fire in Yāska's *Nirukta*<sup>s</sup> (VII, 23) the production of the terrestrial fire from the sun is described as follows:—

“Now (the following is the process of its production) from the sun. The sun having first revolved towards the northern hemisphere, a person holds a polished (piece of) white copper, or *crystal focussing the sun's rays* in place where there is some dry cow-dung, without touching it: it blazes forth, and this very (terrestrial) fire is produced.”<sup>9</sup>

(2) In Kālidāsa's *Sākuntala* (Act II, stanza 41) there is a reference to the production of fire from the Sūryakānta (Sun-crystal) as follows:—

“शमप्रधानेषु तपोधनेषु

गूढं हि दाहात्मकमस्ति तेजः ।

स्पर्शानुकूला इव सूर्यकान्ता-

स्तदन्यतेजोऽभिभवाद्भवन्ति ॥४१॥”

This passage refers to the consuming energy (fire) lying concealed in the *Sun-crystals* but coming out when

<sup>s</sup> Vide p. 125 of English Trans. of *Nirukta* by Dr. L. Sarup, Oxford University Press, 1921.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Sarup remarks:—“This shows that Yāska was familiar with the scientific law of the refraction of heat and light.” The text of *Nirukta* pertaining to the production of fire from the Sun reads as follows:—

“अथादित्यात् । उदीचिप्रथम-समावृत्ते आदित्ये कंसं वा मणिं वा परिभूज्य प्रतिस्वरे यत्र शुष्कगोमयमस्पर्शयन् धारयति तत्पदीप्यते । सोऽयमेव सम्पद्यते” (p. 144 of Text ed. by Sarup).



acted upon by the influence of other forces viz., the rays of the sun.

Monier Williams makes the following remarks on the above passage :—

“ It may be gathered from this passage that . . . . a glass lens . . . . may possibly have been known to the Hindus at the time when this play was written.”<sup>10</sup>

For further evidence on this topic see my paper on the *History of Spectacles in India*.<sup>11</sup>

In the foregoing notes I have recorded only one reference to the production of fire by the friction of *flint* and iron ( लोहपात्रात्तज्जवहि ) I shall feel thankful if the readers of this paper publish some more references to this method of producing fire especially in sources prior to A.D. 500.

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<sup>10</sup> (Page 75 of *Śākuntala* ed., by Monier Williams, Oxford, 1876).

<sup>11</sup> pp 52-54 of *Aitihāsika Saṅkīrṇa Nibandha*. Khaṇḍa I, B.I.S., Mandal, Poona, 1947).







## POSITIVE DATA FOR THE DATE OF ŚABARASVAMIN\*

By G. V. DEVASTHALI.

SINCE I wrote a paper<sup>1</sup> on the *Probable Date of Śabarasvāmin* (Ś.) for the *All-India Oriental Conference* at Hyderabad (Dn.) held in December, 1941 I have been continuing my studies of the *Bhāṣyas* of both Ś as well as Patañjali (Pat.); and though in the course of my studies I have come across various passages containing not merely similar ideas but even similar—nay, in some cases even identical—phraseology, yet I have not seen any reason why I should change the view about the date of Ś. as I have put it forth in the paper referred to above.

MM. Kane, however, has taken one statement made by me in the body of the above-mentioned paper and strongly objected to it implying thereby perhaps that the general conclusion arrived at there regarding the date of Ś. is also untenable.<sup>2</sup> The statement in question is: 'There appears to be no ground to suppose that Ś. was acquainted with Pat. and his work.' To show the futility of this statement MM. Kane quotes four passages from the *Bhāṣya* of Ś and points out that they are based on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pat. and that in one of them at least Ś. has actually referred to Pat. in the term *Ācārya*. The four passages according to him are the most striking ones, though, he avows, there are a few more which

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\*Read at the Fourteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Darbhanga (Mithilā).

<sup>1</sup> This paper is published in the *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, pp. 84—97.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bharatiya Vidya*, Volume VI. Nos. 3 & 4 (New Series) pp. 43f.



may be relied upon for the purpose of proving that Ś. not only had Pat.'s *Mahābhāṣya* before him, but was even a close student thereof.<sup>3</sup>

Even taking for granted that the view propounded by MM. Kane regarding the passages quoted by him is right and that the conclusion arrived at by him on their strength stand scrutiny,<sup>4</sup> I may declare that my suggestion regarding the probable date of Ś. yet remains unvitiated. In my above-mentioned paper I have stated that Ś. must have lived somewhere in the first century B.C.; and in support of this position I have adduced, several grounds among which absence of direct reference to Pat. is only one. It is now generally agreed that Pat. lived about 150 B.C., so that even if it is conclusively proved that Ś. knew Pat. and closely studied his work, yet my general conclusion that Ś. flourished about the first century B.C. can stand unvitiated. MM. Kane has conveniently avoided this main issue though it is apparent that he would not accept such an early date for Ś. as is vouchsafed for him by tradition and as again seems to be suggested by various circumstances, negative though they be, which I have put together more than five years ago.

I am quite aware of the danger of arguing from silence, of which MM. Kane seems to have made so much in his article; and that is exactly why I have not satisfied myself by securing only one, but have put forth several grounds which, as I have suggested in very clear terms, being only negative may not be conclusive of taken singly, but which when taken together may be strong enough to suggest at least a high probability in a certain

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<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 43 and 45.

<sup>4</sup> This I have discussed in a separate paper, where I have shown how the passages quoted by MM. Kane prove nothing definite; and how in one case at least MM. Kane has misunderstood the whole thing. In press.



direction, particularly when they all appear to point in the same direction. In spite of the note of caution sounded by MM. Kane against it, I still feel that *even argumenta ex silentio* have their own importance. They are certainly useful in showing us the probabilities which, however, to become facts—established positive facts—will certainly stand in need of some positive ground. Naturally, therefore in my above-mentioned paper I had merely pointed out the probability (and not certainty) regarding the date of Ś.; and left the issue there only to stand or fail in the light of any positive data that may be available. Now fortunately enough I have come across some positive ground which supports the probability regarding the date of Ś. as suggested by the negative data and turns it into an actuality. This I propose to set forth in the following lines.

It is well-known that there is a strong difference of opinion regarding the dissolution of such compounds as *aśva-ghāsa* between Kātyāyana (K.) on the one hand and Pat. on the other. The former would dissolve them all as Dative Tatpuruṣa which is not allowed by the latter who would take them as Genitive Tatpuruṣa compounds.<sup>5</sup> Now it can be seen that there must have been a period when K. must have held the field in grammar and writers in various branches must have followed his views in dissolving such compounds. Nor is it very difficult to fix approximately the span of this period. There is a general consensus of opinion that K. flourished about 350 B.C. Assuming that about half a century might have been required by

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<sup>5</sup> Read: विकृतिः प्रकृत्येति चेत् अश्वघासादीनामुपसंख्यानम्। (वार्तिक 3 on अष्टाध्यायी II. 1. 36); and यदप्युच्यतेऽश्वघासादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमिति। न कर्तव्यम्। अश्वघासादयः षष्ठीसमासा भविष्यन्ति। etc. (पतञ्जलि's भाष्य on the above वार्तिक)



him to attain the position of a high authority (equal to or even higher than that of Pāṇini) in grammar we may conclude that K.'s influence in the field must have begun about 300 B.C. Now Pat. is dated about 150 B.C. so that arguing in a similar manner we may conclude that Pat. attained his present authority about 100 B.C. Thus the sway of K. in the field of grammar may be said to have extended approximately over two centuries between 300 B.C. and 100 B.C. And it must have been approximately about 100 B.C. that Pat. must have come to be ranked along with K. and Pāṇini—nay even higher than these stalwarts; for the traditional view about authorities on grammar in general and their mutual relation in particular is very well summed up in the two sayings: 'Trimuni vyākaraṇam' and 'Yathottaram muninām prāmāṇyam.' This supplies us with a strong and positive criterion for determining the dates of ancient authors like Ś. who flourished before the beginning of the Christian era. On the strength of this criterion we may conclude that those who follow the views of K. (even when they are not accepted or even directly rejected by Pat.) quite complacently may very well be said to have flourished about 100 B.C. at the latest; while those that follow Pat. against K. can undoubtedly be assigned to a date latter than about 100 B.C.

From a statement made by Vācaspatimiśra in his *Bhāmatī* we know that there was a period when commentators of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa dissolved the compound brahma-jijñāsā as Dative Tatpuruṣa rather than Genitive Tatpuruṣa. Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* thereon has dissolved the compound brahma-jijñāsā as brahmaṇo jijñāsā i.e. Genitive Tatpuruṣa, commenting on which Vācaspati (V.) remarks that this should be understood as having thrown overboard the dissolution brahmaṇe jijñāsā i.e. Dative Tatpuruṣa adopted by ancient



commentators or Vṛttikāras on the *Brahmasūtra*.<sup>6</sup> This clearly shows that V. had before him certain *vṛttis* on the *Brahmasūtras* wherein the expression *brahma-jijñāsā* was dissolved and explained as a Dative Tatpuruṣa compound rather than a Genitive Tatpuruṣa compound. Of the Vṛttikāras who have commented on the *Brahma-sūtras* we know of at least one viz. Baudhāyana,<sup>7</sup> while we know of another Vṛttikāra who wrote a *vṛtti* on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* of Jaimini<sup>8</sup> to be sure, if not also on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa.<sup>9</sup> Of these again the latter can't but be said to be earlier than the first century before the Christian era;<sup>10</sup> and the same may fairly accurately apply to the other. Whether Śaṅkara really meant to throw overboard the dissolution adopted by the ancient Vṛttikāras we can't say; and yet an implication to that effect is there in the words of Śaṅkara as stated by V. whose statement thus makes it clear that there was a period when writers in other branches of literature dissolved the compounds like *brahma-jijñāsā* as Dative Tatpuruṣa in implicit obedience to the rule of K. and thus paying scant courtesy to the teaching of Pat. if at all they were aware of it. This action of theirs shows that they did not look upon Pat. as great authority on grammar which, in its

<sup>6</sup> षष्ठीसमासप्रदर्शनेन प्राचां वृत्तिकृतां ब्रह्मणे जिज्ञासा ब्रह्मजिज्ञासेति चतुर्थी-  
समासः परास्तो वेदितव्यः। (ब्रह्मसूत्र-शाङ्करभाष्य with भामती-कल्पतरु-परिमल  
(Nirnaya Sagara Press Edition of 1917), p. 74)

<sup>7</sup> Referred to by Rāmānuja in the very first sentence of his *Srī-bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*.

<sup>8</sup> Often mentioned by Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*.

<sup>9</sup> Vṛttikāra's refutation of the Buddhistic view-point as given by Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* I. i. 5 in what is generally known the *vṛttikāra-grantha* reads almost like a commentary on *Brahmasūtra* II. ii. 28—32.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion regarding the date of the Vṛttikāra (and also of Śabarasvāmin) see the article of K. Chattopadhyaya in *The Jha Commemoration Volume*.



turn, means that Pat. had not in their days attained that high position of authority which he is known to have attained and enjoyed for more than two thousand years. This can't but point to a period before about 100 B.C. as probable period in which the Vṛttikāras must have lived and composed their works.

Having thus discussed the nature and the application of the positive criterion thus available from the conflicting views on certain grammatical points held by K. on the one hand and Pat. on the other, let us now see how it helps us to fix the date of Ś. In the very beginning of his *bhāṣya* we find Ś. explaining the expression Dharma-jijñāsā occurring in the very opening *sūtra* of Jaimini in the following words: 'Dharmāya jijñāsā dharma-jijñāsā-Sā hi tasya jñātum icchā.' Here it would be evident to any unbiassed reader that S has given us the dissolution of the compound expression in the first sentence and that in the second he has explained the term *jijñāsā*. Thus we see that Ś. has dissolved the compound *dharma-jijñāsā* as Dative Tatpuruṣa and not as Genitive Tatpuruṣa as he would have done had he known Pat.'s rule and had he had such great regard for him as to follow it. In fact Ś. seems to be so much unconcerned with the idea of any other way dissolving the compound that we doubt whether he was aware of any at all. But how-so-ever correct such a dissolution might appear to be to Ś., it was not so in the eyes of Kumārilabhaṭṭa and other commentators. The obvious reason for this difference of attitude in this matter as exhibited by Ś. on the one hand and his commentators on the other is to be found in the authority on grammar they followed. About Kumārila and his successors there can be no doubt that they followed literally the views of Pat. and it is, therefore, no wonder that they could not tolerate the idea that a Bhāṣyakāra like Ś. should have given the dissolution of



the expression Dharma-jijñāsā which was not in conformity with the teaching of Pat. In the day of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa any thing in the field of grammar that was not sanctioned or rather was denounced by Pat. was wrong, so that in the eye of Kumārila by giving the dissolution of the expression dharma-jijñāsā as a dative Tatpuruṣa Ś. would stand accused of having set at naught the vyākaraṇa-smṛti. This is more than what Kumārila would tolerate, and this explains why he is so anxious to show that Ś. has dissolved the compound in accordance with the correct view i.e. the view propounded by Pat. Thus it is that he tells us that the first of the two sentences quoted above is not intended to give the dissolution. For the dissolution is hinted at by Ś. in the next sentence while in the first he wants to show that the genitive in the dissolution has the sense of tādarthya.<sup>11</sup> Ingenious as this explanation is it has to be admitted that it is, to say the least, farfetched and on the face of it quite unnatural. Can we expect any commentator to explain the significance of the case in the dissolution before the dissolution is actually given? The most natural course to expect would be to have the dissolution first and the explanation of the significance of the case occurring therein only afterwards. But the fact in the present case is that Ś. is too far removed from the forces influencing Kumārila to be guided and governed by them. Kumārila, however, is blinded by these forces and can't see and appreciate any field which can be free from them. It is this that makes him unable to see how the dissolution of the expression dharma-jijñāsā as given by Ś. can be right though it certainly is at variance with the teaching of Pat. Ś. is as yet uninfluenced by Pat. and naturally, therefore, has followed the view that was current in his

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,, Cf. *Ślokaṛttika*, I. 118—21.



day viz. the view of K. His commentators, however, being unconscious of this fact have exposed themselves to anachronism by forcing Ś. to follow the rules or views of Pat, though as a matter of fact he would have nothing to do with him.

In this connection it may be interesting to note some remarks<sup>12</sup> which Appaya Dīksita (AD), the great polymath of the 17th century has made in his *Parimala* under *Brahmasūtra* I. i. 1. The *Kalpataru* there has merely quoted the relevant *vārtikas* of K.; and AD. has explained and discussed these fully in his *Parimala* and ultimately stated the view of the *Vārtikakāra* in the words: 'Evam aśvaghāsādiṣu caturthī-samāsa iti vārtikakāramatam.' A few lines below there again he states the view of Pat. also in this connection in the following words: 'Bhāṣyakāraiḥ khalu catra vārtikam ullaṅghya yathāśru-tasūtram samarthayamāraiḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamāsaḥ samāśritāḥ' more important still, however, for our purposes are the other remarks that he has made directly in connection with the explanation of the expression *dharmajijñāsā* as given by Ś. in his *bhāṣya* and also as it has been understood by Kumārila in his *Śloka-vārtika*. Thus in very clear terms does AD. state that Ś. has adopted the dative *Tatpuruṣa* in dissolving the expression *dharmajijñāsā* as *dharmāya jijñāsā*; and adds that in doing so he has followed the view of *vārtikakāra*. In equally clear terms again he explains the attitude of Kumārila towards the dissolution as given by Ś. saying: 'Idameva bhāṣyakārīvamataṁ anusṛtya bhāṭṭapādairapi dharmāya jijñāseti śabarasvāmivacanam ṣaṣṭhīsamāsalabdharthikārthapradarśanaparam na tu vigrahapradarśanaparam tasya jñātum icchā iti nigamavākyena ṣaṣṭhīsamāsavibhāvanād iti vyākhyātam.'

<sup>12</sup> See *Brahma-sūtra-Sāṅkara-bhāṣya* with *Bhāmati*, *Kalpataru* and *Parimala* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Edition of 1917), p. 75.



In view of what has been stated above it may be seen that Ś. is definitely following the view of K. setting at naught that of Pat. even if, as some scholars avow it, he were acquainted with him and his work. This shows that Ś. did not look upon Pat. as an authority on grammar. Thus if at all Pat. lived at the time of Ś. and was his contemporary, he had not at that time attained any high authority in the field of grammar. This very fact is again suggested by some other circumstances which I have already referred to in my paper referred to in the very beginning here. Thus in his *bhāṣya*, Ś. has discussed some important grammatical point under *M.S.X.* viii. 4 where he is discussing the construction of a negative sentence as *pariyudāsa*. There the *pūrva-pakṣin* quotes the authority of K. in his support; while Ś. refutes his argument by saying that K. is an *asadvādin* and hence *apramāṇa* as against Pāṇini who is a *sadvādin*.<sup>13</sup> Now here had Ś. really been acquainted with Pat. and his work, and regarded him as an authority on grammar he would certainly have quoted him and silenced the *pūrva-pakṣin* on Pat.'s authority. But the very fact that instead of doing so he has put forth the above argument shows that he did not know Pat. or that had he known him he was not prepared to look upon him as a great authority on grammar. In fact the attitude here shown by Ś. is so very diametrically opposed to the traditional view viz.

13 आह। नन्वनुयाजसम्बन्धे नशब्दस्य समासः प्राप्नोति। नित्यो हि नञ् शब्दस्य सुबन्तसम्बन्धेन समास इति वार्तिककारो भगवान् कात्यायनो मन्यते स्म। वा वचनानर्थक्यं च स्वभाव-सिद्धत्वात् इति। नेति भगवान् पाणिनिः। स हि विभाषा इति प्रकृत्य ईदृशं समासमुक्तवान्। सद्वादित्वाच्च पाणिनेर्वचनं प्रमाणम्। असद्वादित्वान्न कात्यायनस्य। असद्वादी हि विद्यमानमप्यनुपलभ्य ब्रूयात्। तस्मात् पर्युदासः। (शबर on मीमांसा-सूत्र X.8.4.)

Here evidently Śabara takes Pāṇini as being more authoritative than Kātyāyana which is diametrically opposed to the traditional dictum 'Yathottaram munināṃ prāmāṇyam.'



trimuni vyākaraṇam and Yathottaram muninām prāmāṇyam that we cannot but conclude that Ś. lived at a time when the idea of the three munis of vyākaraṇa had not arisen at all.

The general conclusion now, therefore, that we can draw regarding the relation between Ś. on the one hand and Pat. on the other and regarding the date of the former is that Ś. shows no trace of the influence of the views propounded by Pat. and follows the views of K. only even when they have been denounced by Pat.; that if Pat. lived at the time of Ś. he was not at any rate looked upon as a great authority on grammar; and lastly that the latest limit for such a period can't be later than about 100 B.C. which may, therefore, be also accepted as the *terminus a quo* for the date of Śabarasvāmin.



## A TANTRIKA WORK OF VIDYĀPATI

By DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

IT is very difficult to ascertain the exact religious persuasion of the great Maithila scholar Vidyāpati. In the devotional songs he is found to be a staunch Vaiṣṇava; in the *Śaivasarvasvāsāra* and some of the songs he appears to be a Śaiva. Perhaps ultimately, he will be regarded as a Śākta, whose outward conduct is governed by the well-known adage :—

अन्तः शाक्ताः बहिः शैवाः सभायां वैष्णवा मताः।

नानारूपधराः कौलाः विचरन्ति महीतले॥

Vidyāpati's *Durgābhaktitaruṅgiṇī* is still counted as one of the authorised guide-books in Bengal for the performance of the greatest Śākta festival of the year—the Durgāpūjā. The latest discovery of a *Tāntrikanibandha* of Vidyāpati lends support to our surmise that he was really at heart a Śākta. The full story of this rare discovery is given below. In 1944 we examined a Ms. collection in a village named Bāhīrgāchi in the Nadia district which was the abode of a very distinguished family of scholars who were the spiritual preceptors of the Rajas of Navadvīpa. The collection was particularly rich in Tāntrika works. Among them we came across an anonymous book named *Tantrārṇava* (foll. 93 incomplete at the end), which was written about 1800 A. D. On the very first page the word Āgama is explained by citing a rare passage from 'Vācaspati-Miśra-dhṛta-āgama-dvaitanirṇaya.' We felt curious to ascertain if this rare Tāntrika book quoted as it appears by the great Maithila scholar Vācaspati Miśra has ever been referred to anywhere else. As luck would have it a fragment of



the very work was soon after discovered by us in a neighbouring village. Near Navadvīpa the metropolis of Sanskrit culture in Bengal stands a famous village named Vilvapuṣkariṇī or as it is called in common parlance Belpukur. Early in the 17th century A.D. Rāmacandra (of the Banerji family) successfully performed austerities in this village under the Śākta cult. His descendants, now scattered in many districts of Bengal, are the spiritual guides of high class Hindus initiated in the Tantra. Judging by the number of disciples Rāmacandra was by far the greatest Tāntrika saint of Bengal. His descendants still constitute the bulk of the inhabitants of Belpukur, but the book under question was discovered in the house of a Sanskrit scholar belonging to a different family though of the same original stock of the Banerjis. This family produced an unbroken line of distinguished scholars of the Dharmaśāstra.<sup>1</sup> The leaves of the Ms. in paper do not all bear page-marks, the total number of folios counting to be only 33. It begins:—

संसेव्यमानमृषिभिः सनकादिमुख्यैः ध्यानैकगम्यमजरं जगदादिहेतुम् ।

वेदान्तवेद्यमखिला × दमाग्रभूत-मैशं मही मनसि मे मुदमादधातु ॥१॥

नत्वा गोविन्दचरणौ श्रीमान् विद्यापतिः कृती ।

तनोति विदुषां प्रीत्यै स्वागमे द्वैतनिर्णयः ॥२॥

तत्रादौ आगमप्रामाण्ये द्वैतनिर्णयः । आगमस्मृतीनां प्रत्यक्षसिद्धं श्रुतिमूलकत्वं ।  
तथा तैत्तिरीयशाखायां नारायणोपनिषदि × × × । किंचाथर्वपर्वणि उपनिषद्भागे  
रामपूर्वोत्तरतापनीये नृसिंहपूर्वोत्तरतापनीये च × × × ।

<sup>1</sup> The genealogical list is given below: Śaṅkara (a descendant of Sarvānanda of the Vandyaghaṭīya family)—Kamalākānta—Rāghavendra—Rājārāma Tarkasiddhānta & Śivarāma, Vācaspati and Kāśīśvara Sārvaśaṅka. Rājārāma's son Rāmarāma Nyāyavāgīśa—Balarāma Pañcānana—Titurāma Tarkavāgīśa (born 1788 A.D. died c. 1850)—Aksaya Śiromaṇi & Durgāprasanna Vidyārātana & Devīprasanna Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Devīprasanna's son Śrī Amṛtyubharī Smṛtitīrtha, the present worthy descendant of the family, is in possession of the Ms. collection and we are



Several folios are missing after fol. 13b and the first section ends on the obverse of a page marked 'Ga' with the colophon:—

इति श्रीविद्यापतिविरचिते द्वैतनिर्णये पूजाद्वैतनिर्णयः प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

There is a fuller colophon at the end of the next section on 'Puraścaraṇa' in an unmarked page:—

इति महामहोपाध्याय-ठक्कुर-श्रीविद्यापतिविरचिते द्वैतनिर्णये पुरस्चरणद्वैतनिर्णयः (:) समाप्तः ।

An alphabetical list of the authorities cited in the fragment is given below:

Kramadīpikā (fol. 3a)/ Kriyārṇava (4)a Kriyāsāra (often from 3a)/Ciccandrikā (7a)/Dīpikā (7a)/Nārāyaṇīya (8b)/Nārāyaṇopaniṣad (1b)/Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya (1b)/Padmapādācārya (10b)/ Puraścaraṇacandrikā (7b, 11a)/Prapañcasāra (towards the end)/Do-Ṭikā (ib.)/Rāmatāpanīyā (1b)/Rāmārcanacandrikā (4b, 6b)/Vijñānamālā (Kha, 6a, 9a)/ Mantratantrāprakāśa (end)/Śambhuśekhara (4a)/ Sārasamuccaya (10a)/ Siddhināthasaṃhitā (end).

Two interesting passages are cited here:—

आपादे पुत्रलाभाय श्रावणे पुत्रदो भवेत् इत्यादि तु वाक्यं प्रामादिकमत आपादे पुत्रनाशयेति पठनीयमनेकग्रन्थसमन्वयादिति । (fol. 4a under 'Dīkṣā')

चंद्रसूर्यग्रहे तीर्थे सिद्धक्षेत्रे शिवालये । मंत्रमात्रप्रकथनमुपदेशः स उच्यते ॥

इत्यादिवाक्यस्य बहुषु शंभुशेखर-त्रिवार्यवादिग्रन्थेषु दर्शनेन प्राशस्त्यपरत्वादिति । (Ibid.)

In the following important passage the author refers to

grateful to him for allowing us to examine it. Balarāma was the author of *Sukhabodha* (a work on Jyotiṣa), *Kālībhaktitarāṅgiṇī* (a devotional poem) and an original text-book on Sanskrit grammar named *Prabodhaprakāśa* which was current in the locality. Titurāma was a distinguished Smārta and commented on Raghunandana's works besides commenting on the *Liṅgaśaṅgrahavarga* of the *Amarakoṣa* and his father's grammar. The *Prabodhaprakāśa* was partly published with a Bengali translation by Devīprasanna in 1318 B.S. (pp. 120). Durgāprasanna, his pupil Devīprasanna (d. 1929 at 83) and the latter's eldest son *Mṛtyuñjaya Smṛtītīrtha* (d. 1928) were leading scholars of the locality.



his own 'Sampradāya', implying that he actually belonged to a particular Tāntrika school of Mithila :—

साधकजन्मनक्षत्रमेव ग्राह्यं न तु तदीयनामाद्यक्षरनक्षत्रमित्यस्मत्संप्रदायः (4b).

In two places (fol. 7a & 13a), moreover, he refers to the particular views of his own father (इत्यस्माकं पैत्रिकः पन्थाः )

In this connection we shall invite the attention of scholars to a much neglected work of Vidyāpati viz., the *Bhūparikramaṇa* of which a complete copy exists in the Ms., library of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. It was written at Naimiṣa for the pleasure of king Devasiṃha of Mithila देवसिंहस्य रुचये v. 5 at the beginning) It describes the supposed itinerary of god Baladeva undertaken by him for expiating a sin. Vidyapati commenced the work after saluting the Pañcādevatā (Gaṇeśa, Sāmba, Viṣṇu, Ravi & Ambikā). There are six sections in the book containing very important descriptions of all the famous shrines in the Drupadadeśa, Brahmāvarta, Mahāprayāga, Kāśīkṣetra, Siddhādeśa (with Balideśa) and Janakadeśa respectively. The itinerary is interspersed with eight tales all of which were subsequently incorporated in the first chapter of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. The very first deity worshipped by Balarāma was 'Kālī Mahāmāyā' in the Drupadadeśa. Curiously enough at the end of the above Ms. of the book the scribe has recorded the date of composition, not of the *Bhūparikramaṇa* but of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* thus :—(fol. 50a).

मुनिवैरामवाणशशिवत्सरे संख्यके गते।

पुंसां परीक्षणवृत्ति चक्रे भूपस्य चाज्ञया॥

The date unfortunately is difficult to interpret. Even if we read विराम and refer the year 1507 to the Vikrama Samvat (i.e., 1450 A.D.) the date is prehaps too late for Śivasinha in whose reign the book was composed. The scribe it should be noted was careless in his work and copied the book about 1800 A. D.; he has recorded the date



of composition of one book at the end of quite a different book. Nevertheless he was evidently in possession from unknown sources of the genuine date of composition of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. As he has carelessly transposed the two words of the verse 'vatsare' and 'saṅkhyake', so we believe he also transposed the two words of the date 'rāma' and 'bāṇa' and the correct reading should be:—

मुनिवाणरामशशिसंख्यके वत्सरे गते ।

If this emendation is accepted we have got here a clear date for Vidyāpati and his patron Śivasinha viz. 1357 Śaka (i.e., 1435-6 A.D.). It should be noticed that Vidyāpati commenced the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* with a prayer to the supreme Goddess 'ĀDIŚAKTI,' pointing clearly to his religious faith in Śākta doctrines.

The *Bhūparīkramaṇa* is the source of a number of so-called geographical works in Sanskrit, which came to be written early in the British regime by most unscrupulous writers. The *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, the *Deśāvalīvivṛti* and the *Digvijayaprakāśa* (otherwise called *Pāṇḍavavijaya*) are well known works of this class. They are full of the most unreliable concoctions of stories, traditions and geographical names, though couched in the sacred language they succeeded in attracting the notice of a section of scholars. Some genuine traditions may, however, find place in these works, specially those connected with the region of the writers. We quote below a long extract from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, where a very interesting account of Vidyāpati and his family is narrated. It was discovered by us in a big Ms. now preserved in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta; it was wrongly added to a different book after obliterating the original page-marks.

"मांगरोणि"-पूर्वभागे योजनद्वयव्यत्यये ।

"उचितग्रामो" युगादौ च प्राकट्यं प्राप्स्यति ध्रुवम् ॥



आगमभूषण-द्विजः कश्चित्पङ्गवेदपारगः ।  
 वीरभावसमापन्नो वामाचाररतः सदा ।  
 आद्यादेव्याः स्थापनं च करिष्यति हि मंदिरे ।  
 उचितग्रामलोकानां सदा कल्याणकारिणी ॥  
 वेदवर्षसहस्रेषु पञ्चवर्षशतेषु च ।  
 आगमभूषणगोत्रेषु चाशो  $\times \times \times$  द्विजाः ॥  
 विद्यापतिर्ब्राह्मणश्च सिद्धः परमवार्तिकः ।  
 मासे त्रयोदशे पूर्णे गर्भाद्भूमौ पतिष्यति ॥  
 सर्वलक्षणसंपूर्णः प्रायः शुक्रसमः स च ।  
 तैरभुक्तस्य देशस्य चालंकारो हि स द्विजः ॥  
 अल्पकाले स बालश्च कुशाग्रीयमतिर्महान् ।  
 विद्याभ्यासं दिवारात्री निरालस्यः करिष्यति ॥  
 काव्यादिशास्त्रे प्रवीणः कैशोरे मुनिसत्तमाः ।  
 दयाधर्मयुतश्चैव माधुर्यरसपारगः ।  
 विद्यापति तस्य नाम कीर्तयिष्यन्ति मानवाः ॥  
 आद्यादेव्याः प्रसादेन कवितारचनेषु च ।  
 सिद्धत्वं यास्यति मुदा विद्यापतिर्महत्तमः ॥  
 अनायासेन भूदेवा विद्यापतिमुखाब्जतः ।  
 गद्यपद्यमयी वाणी निःसरिष्यति शोभना ॥  
 शृंगाररसवक्ता च वाक्दूकः स पंडितः ।  
 विद्यापतिसमो नैव भावी च तैरभुक्तके ॥  
 तैरभुक्तप्रदेशे स उचितग्राममध्यतः ।  
 आद्या (6a) देवीप्रसादेन सशरीरो गमिष्यति ॥  
 तैरभुक्तजनाः सर्वे कलिशेषावधिद्विजाः ।  
 विद्यापतिसिद्धयशो गास्यन्ति च मुदान्विताः ॥

In this curious account there are certain facts which seem to be hitherto unknown. The ancestral village of Vidvāpati is stated to be 'Uciṭāgrāma' and the family went by the name of a distant ancestor ĀGAMABHŪ-ṢAṆA who was initiated in the Vīra cult of the Tantra. Vidyāpati himself is stated to have attained Siddhi in Tāntrika rites which was the real cause of his poetic powers. He was born, besides, in the 13th month after conception—another extra-ordinary incident in the life of an extra-ordinary man. How far these facts are cor-



roborated by local traditions we invite scholars of Mithila to investigate. The account, however, vouches for the fact that Vidyāpati belonged to a Tāntrika family of renown and our previous surmise about the poet's religious persuasion is substantially corroborated thereby. The date recorded in this account in round numbers of the Kali era (4500 K. E. corresponding to 1399 A.D.) like all such dates in these geographical works should not be taken seriously, though in the present case the date is not wide off the mark.







## A NOTE ON RĀSO

By SIBENDRANATH GHOSAL

THERE is much dispute among scholars as regards the origin and true significance of the word 'Rāso' which at present stand for a big heroic poetry. Prof. Narottam Swāmin quotes several suggestions of different scholars in his article "*Pṛthwirāj Rāso*" in a volume of the *Rajasthan Bhāratī*. But he does not support any of these suggestions. To cite him exactly

फ्रांसीसी विद्वान् तासी ने उसकी उत्पत्ति राजसूय-शब्द से मानी। रामचन्द्र शुक्ल उसे रसायण का अपभ्रंश मानते हैं। अन्य कई विद्वान् उसे रहस्य से बना बताते हैं। वास्तव में ये सब कल्पनाएँ मात्र हैं। रासो का मूलशब्द रास या रासक है। रासक का अपभ्रंश और प्राचीन राजस्थानी में रासउ हुआ <sup>(1)</sup> ॥

*R. Bh. Bhāg 1, Aṅka 1, P. 2.*

Mm. Haraprasad Śāstrī has also discussed it cursorily in his preliminary report on the search for bardic manuscripts in Rājaputāna which indicates well how the subject was a pivot of discussions among the different scholars interested in the proto—vernacular studies. So Mm. Śāstrī observes "The derivation of the word Rāso is extremely perplexing. Mm. Pandit Vindhyeśwarī Prsād Dube of benares thinks that it is 'Rāja Yaśāḥ.' In prakrit j becomes y. and would become 'Rāya Yaśaḥ' and later 'Rāyasā.' The bards derive it either from 'rāsa' or sport or rāsā that is quarrel. A prolonged altercation is often called Rāsā in Rājputānā. 'Kyā rāsā kurte ho' is often

<sup>1</sup> The French scholar Tassi thinks its origin to be the word 'Rājasūya.' Mr. Ram Chandra Sukla considers it to be a corrupt form of Rasāyana, while some other scholar holds that it comes from the word Rahasya. But, in fact, these are mere imaginations. The origin of Rāso is Rāsa or Rūsaka. In Apabhraṃśa and old Rājasthāni Rāsaka appears as Rāsau.



remarked when a man is talking for a long time on one subject. There is among the Jains a large number of works called 'rāsā'. My friend Mr. K. P. Jaysawāl thinks that 'rāsā' is connected with the sense 'problem' 'mystery'. In Brajabhāṣā 'rahasya' becomes rāsā." *Bar-dic Mss. Survey Report*, p. 25. We are of the opinion that 'Rāso' comes certainly from Rāsaka or Rāsa (without the pleonastic ka), as it has been suggested by Prof. Narottam-das Swāmin. But as he did not say anything about the meaning of Rāsa or Rāsaka and its connection with the present heroic poetry 'Rāso' we like to give some suggestions as to how there occurred an evolution in the meaning of the word. As it is yet to be substantiated by other facts the scholars are to judge it and pass their verdicts.

2. In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśwanatha 'Rāsaka' has been explained as a form of Uparūpaka. He defines it in the words:—

रासकं पञ्चपात्रं स्यान्मुखनिर्वहणान्वितम् ।  
 भाषाविभाषाभूयिष्ठं भारतीकैशिकीयुतम् ॥  
 असूत्रधारमेकाकं सवीथ्यङ्गं कलान्वितम् ।  
 श्लिष्टनान्दीयुतं ख्यातनायिकं मूर्खनायकम् ॥  
 उदात्तभावविन्यास-संश्रितं चोत्तरोत्तरम् ।  
 इह प्रतिमुखं सन्धिमपि केचित् प्रचक्षते ॥

#### Chap. VI.

It should be examined in this concern, whether this particular form of Uparūpaka has any connection with the 'Rāsa' or 'Rāsaka' and the heroic poetry 'Rāso' of the present days. Needless to mention that it will throw some light on the trend of Apabhraṁśa poetry and some aspect of mediaeval Indian culture.

3. The word 'Rāsa' signifies originally the dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopa-maids in an autumnal moon-lit night. It is also called Hallīśa and in the old texts like *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśa*



reference to such a dance either by the particular name 'Rāsa' or 'Hallīśa' occurs. It is interesting to note that in none of these works we find any mention of the chief Gopi—maid Rādhā who occupied a very important place in the Kṛṣṇa legend in the posterior period. In the later days far more minute details on the 'Rāsa' dance of Kṛṣṇa have appeared in the various Vaiṣṇava texts. Prof. Sukumar Sen has made the following observations in his "*History of Vrajabuli Literature*"—Kṛṣṇa's nocturnal dance with the cowherd damsels is called Hallisa elsewhere it is Rāsa. . . . There is a fair similarity in the descriptions of the 'Hallisa' or 'Rāsa' dance in these two works. One verse [*Harivaṁsa* ii. 20, 24, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V. 13. 57.] is common in both p. 473. It (*Padmapurāṇa*) also describes the plan of the 'Rāsa Maṇḍala' and seats therein occupied by Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and their friends, male and female." (*Pātāla-Khaṇḍa* 38, 39. XXIII. p. 474.) We suppose, and possibly correctly too, that this Rāsa or Rāsaka (with the pleonastic *Ka*) used particularly in the sense of Kṛṣṇa's dance is the source of the modern 'Rāso' poetry. It is certainly connected with the 'Rāsaka drama' of the '*Sāhityadarpaṇa*' and we think that some discussions are necessary to show the process—the line of change, which the word 'Rāsa' underwent in the evolution of its meaning.

4. As we have already mentioned, the term 'Rāsa' signified Kṛṣṇa's dance which was certainly a passionate expression of erotic sentiments and feelings. Sometimes later, however, the range of its scope widened and the word meant not only mimic dance but also the music which accompanied it. The latter's application was unavoidable, as its appeal to the sensual nature of man was irresistible. Here the two-fold divisions as regards its gradual change took place as emphasis was laid separately



on the music and the dance element of the phenomenon. The dance element gave rise to the improvisation of the drama, where the movements of the body were the most essential components. Here Prof. Macdonell's observation on the 'origin of drama' in general should be remembered "The words for actor (naṭa) and play (nāṭaka) are derived from the verb 'naṭ' the Prakrit or vernacular form of skt 'nṛt' to dance. The name is familiar to English ears in the form of nautch, the Indian dancing of the present day. The latter indeed probably represents the beginnings of the Indian drama. It must, at first, have consisted only of rude partsmime, in which the dancing movements of the body were accompanied by mute mimicking gestures of hand and face. Song, doubtless also formed an ingredient in such performances. The addition of dialogue was the last step in the development which was thus much the same in India and Greece." *Hist. of Skt. Lit.* p. 346-7. As the very origin of the drama presupposes dance the graceful movements of the limbs, it is quite likely that a particular name should be assigned to a particular class, which shows the exuberance of the same, or some other element of kindred nature. The very definition of the Rāsaka drama as given in the '*Sāhityadarpaṇa*' certainly testifies to the truth of our statement. In the definition already quoted an expression occurs as 'कलान्वित' which a commentator explains as "कला-नृत्यादिकं चतुःषष्टिप्रकारं तया अन्वित"—Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's edition. p. 526. So, we need not doubt that in the Rāsaka drama there was a predominance of dance, which originally meant 'Rāsa' i.e. the dance of Kṛṣṇa. It should be incidentally mentioned that similar occurrence has taken place in the conception of the 'Hallīśa' form of drama. Kṛṣṇa's dance with the Gopa-maids was also, sometimes, called 'Hallīśa' or Hallīśaka (vide Prof. Sukumar Sen's observations). This



Hallīśa or Hallīśaka was certainly at the root of the conception of the Hallīśa drama which has been defined in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* as “हल्लीशं एव एककः सप्ताष्टौ दश वा स्त्रियः । वागुदात्तैकपुरुषः कौशिकीवृत्तिसंकुलः । मुखान्तिमो तथा सन्धी बहुताललयस्थितिः ॥” and where, too, dance occupied a very prominent place. It should be observed in this connection that ‘Rāsaka’ drama was considerably of later origin, since it contained besides Sanskrit the derived languages like ‘Bhāṣās’ and ‘Bibhāṣās’ i.e. the Prakrits and the *Apabhraṃśas*. So, we think, we are possibly correct in assuming ‘Rāsa’ i.e. Kṛṣṇa’s dance to be the source of the Rāsaka drama. But we would have had our view confirmed had any work of this particular type been in our possession. We are really very sorry to mention that the dramas which belong to the Rāsaka and Hallīśaka classes are totally lost. So the works, which are mentioned in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as illustrations to those two different types of drama are at present mere names to us.

5. It now remains for us to show the link—the intermediate stages between “Rāsa dance” and the “Rāso poetry.” We have already suggested that music followed dance, which to a great extent, enhanced the poignancy of the sentiments intended to be expressed. In course of time, music lost its tune and lyric songs changed to lyric poems which had mostly the descriptions of love, nature and the seasons as their themes. In the ‘*Sandēśa Rāsaka*’ of Abdur Rahmān a muslim poet we find, thus, very charming descriptions of the feeling of love in its different settings and in them follows, as a course of necessity, the portrayal of nature which has a great influence on the minds of the lover and the beloved. But at this time, an emphasis is perceived to be stressed on the element of ‘character’ or ‘characters’ centring whom the delineation of the feeling takes place. Afterwards, the change of political atmosphere, the overthrow of the



Hindu kings by the muslim invaders, the formers' dogged resistance to the attacks of the latter altered the trend of 'Rāsaka' poetry too. It was captured as a most suitable form for describing the heroic activities and legends of the warriors, whose fearless death in the field and self-sacrifice for the honour of the land needed commemoration for inspiring courage into the hearts of the posterior generations. So, henceforth, the heroic tales and legends became chiefly the subject-matter of the Rāsaka or Rāso, though the element of love was not totally neglected or lost sight of. It is substantiated too by the following remark of Babu Shyam Sundar Das and Pandit Ram Chandra Sukla.

“जैसा कि योरोप में वीरगाथाओं का प्रसंग युद्ध और प्रेम रहा वैसे ही यहाँ भी था। किसी राजा की कन्या के प्रेम का संवाद पाकर छल-बल के साथ चढ़ाई करना और प्रतिपक्षियों को पराजित कर उस कन्या को हर कर लाना वीरों का गौरव और अभिमान का काम माना जाता था। इस प्रकार थोड़ा शृंगार का मिश्रण भी इन काव्यों में रहता था पर गौण रूप से प्रधान रस वीर ही रहता था<sup>2</sup>”

नागरी-प्रचारिणी पत्रिका

भाग ९ संवत् १९८५

The remark is made with reference to the Prabandha type of poem, to which '*Prithwirāja Rāso*' and other works of similar nature do certainly belong. So we think, we are correct to assume that the Rāso poetry of the vernacular is connected with 'Rāsa' i.e. Kṛṣṇa's dance and the latter is the source of the former as well as the Rāsaka type of drama which we have already discussed.

<sup>2</sup> As in Europe the subject-matters of heroic ballads were war and love, so here, too, were the same. It was surely a glory and pride on the parts of the heroes to hear the falling in love of some Princess and to obtain her by taking to some contrivings or having defeated the adversaries who stood for her protection. So in these poems there is some blending of the feeling of love, which is merely subservient, the chief sentiment is, no doubt, heroism.



## Proceedings of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Annual General Meeting (April 9, 1949)

The Annual General Meeting of the *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* was held on Saturday April 9, 1949 in the Balrampur Hall of the Hindu Boarding House. Dr. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D.; F.R.S.L., Vice-president of the institute, presided. Beside the members, the following guests were present, Hon. Mr. Justice Waliullah, acting Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, Hon. Mr. Justice Wanchoo, Hon. Mr. Justice Bindbasni Prasad, Hon. Mr. Justice Raghubar Dayal, Mr. Kripa Narain, executive officer, Municipal Board, Brigadier Jayal, Mr. Krishna Murari Lal of the Board of Revenue, Prof. K. R. R. Sastry, Raja of Sangali, Prof. S. J. Joshi and many others.

*Dr. Amaranatha Jha*:—"I owe you an apology for occupying the chair. We have lost our president and the other vice-president, Dr. Radhakrishnan is not present. That is the explanation for my occupying this Chair. Before we take up other items on the agenda, I shall read out to you a resolution expressing our sense of grief and loss at the passing away of our President Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. What the institute owed to Dr. Sapru it is impossible to describe. Right from the beginning he gave to the idea of the scheme all the support and encouragement that he could and at every step we received inspiration from him. He took the most lively interest in this work and we shall long remember and not forget all that he did for this organisation.

The whole country mourns the passing away of a great statesman, a learned jurist, a great lawyer. But we of this Institute mourn in particular the passing



away of one who was genuinely devoted to oriental learning.

I read out this resolution and request you to kindly pass it standing."

"The Institute places on record its sense of profound grief and loss at the demise of its President, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru. It is impossible to assess the services rendered by him to the Institute from its very inception, with the rest of the country it mourns the passing away of an eminent statesman, great lawyer and a learned jurist; but in particular we shall miss the safe guidance of one who was genuinely devoted to oriental studies.

The Institute conveys its respectful condolences to the Hon. Mr. Justice Sapru and other members of the bereaved family."

#### *Resolution—*

The resolution was adopted, the audience standing.

*Welcome to H. E. Shri M. S. Aney*

*Dr. Amaranatha Jha* :—"It is now my pleasant duty to offer on behalf of the Institute a respectful welcome to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar. We welcome him not because or mainly because he is the head of a neighbouring province, but welcome him particularly as a great scholar who has for many years devoted a great deal of his time to oriental studies.

At the last All India Oriental Conference held a few months ago, he read a paper which impressed every one by his profound learning and wide outlook. A few days ago he presided over the annual meeting of the Bihar Research Society in Patna and we are extremely beholden to him for the trouble he has taken to come to our annual meeting. I am sure that many like me are eagerly looking forward to his address.



But before I request His Excellency to deliver his address we have yet to go through a few formal items of business which, I assure you, will not take more than a few minutes.

*Election of the new President*

*Dr. Amaranatha Jha:*—I take the opportunity subject to the approval of the members of the Institute of proposing the name of Dr. Bhagavan Das of Benares for President of the Institute in place of Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Saprū.

Dr. Umesha Mishra seconded the proposal. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Dr. Umesha Mishra, the Honorary Secretary of the Institute, presented the annual report for the year 1947—48.

Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya proposed and Dr. Ishwari Prasad seconded the motion that the report be adopted.

It was agreed to unanimously.

*Government grant of Rs. 15,000.*

At this stage Dr. Amaranatha Jha informed the members that the Education Minister of these Provinces told him that the Government had been pleased to sanction Rs. 15,000 towards the building of this institute.

Dr. A. Siddiqui, Honorary Treasurer, then presented the estimated budget for 1949—50 and the audit report for 1947—48. (Printed elsewhere).

Dr. Ishwari Prasad proposed and Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya seconded that the budget estimates and the audit report be adopted and they were adopted unanimously.

*Dr. Amaranatha Jha:* I now request your Excellency to deliver your address.



Thereupon His Excellency delivered his address which is printed elsewhere.

*Vote of Thanks:* Proposing a vote of thanks to His Excellency Dr. Ishwari Prasad said—Your Excellency and gentlemen. I have received a command from the Chairman which cannot be disobeyed. It is now my pleasant duty to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Your Excellency. We are deeply grateful to you for the kindness that you have shown in coming to our meeting to deliver this address in spite of your busy engagements. Usually it does not fall to the lot of a Governor to be a very learned man, because I consider as nothing more damaging to the cultural scholarship than practical politics. But Your Excellency is an extraordinary man. In spite of the work-a-day politics, in spite of the numerous engagements of daily life you have kept alive the torch of learning and you have taken a keen interest in it.

We had in these provinces, many years ago, a Governor who was the first Chancellor of this university, a great Sanskrit scholar who possessed great learning. He used to write articles under the pseudonym of Vasudeva Sastri and these articles were published under the title of 'Asiatic Studies.' Usually we do not find many Governors taking interest in researches. But it is very heartening to think that Your Excellency takes so much interest in learning and the advancement of scholarship.

We have listened to a comprehensive survey of Indian culture and learning that you have placed before us. As a History man I am delighted to listen to the history of Balgāngadhar Sastri and Indian scholarship and Indian learning. You have spoken of great men and great scholars, who have shed the splendour of their genius over this country. We are all grateful to them. We are grateful to Your Excellency for giving this address this afternoon.



This institution has been founded to commemorate the name of a distinguished scholar who devoted every minute of his life to learning. Those who have come in contact with the late Pāṇḍit Ganganatha Jha will remember that he was always engaged in studying and writing. He dedicated his life to the pursuit of learning. This he continued from the day he left his college to the day of his death. It was a great life and I hope that the Institute which has been founded to commemorate his name will send out in the world a stream of scholars which will flow uninterrupted like waters of the Ganga and the Yamuna and the researches in which they engaged themselves will enhance the reputation of not only the Institute but of the whole province.

Your Excellency has referred to one thing which touched me deeply and that is the poverty of scholars in the past. Those were times quite different from the times in which we are living. It is a pity that scholars do not find it possible to live up to those great traditions of our ancestors in ancient India. A Brahmin who accepted payment was condemned.

I hope Your Excellency will influence those who are entrusted with the government of this country to give every encouragement to scholarship and learning. In the din and bustle of politics the claims of higher learning are very much neglected and forgotten. I hope all those who are engaged in scholarship and learning will receive due recognition from our statesmen and legislators. The great countries in Europe have become famous not because of their armed power but because of their scholars profound in their learning and researches. It is necessary for the State to give all encouragement to them. Politics is not the be-all and end-all of life. Nations become great by enriching the mind of their people. The task which this Institute has set before itself, namely, the ad-



vancement of the culture of India, is very great, and unless sufficient funds are placed at its disposal it will not be able to discharge its duty efficiently. We are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for the kindness you have shown in coming here and delivering your address which I hope will long be remembered.

One word more and I have done. This is a distinguished audience of High Court judges and lawyers. High Court judges are always learned and members of the bar are also learned. There are University professors and other learned men who have honoured us by their presence. As a member of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Research Institute I offer them my heartfelt thanks. Let me once again thank Your Excellency for the kindness you have shown in coming here to deliver this address.

There being no other business the meeting was declared closed.



# Income and Expenditure Account of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad for the year 1947-48

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
General Expenditure account	...	Donation a/c	...
Already spent	1,082 3 0	Life membership a/c	...
Due for March 1948	255 0 0	Annual membership a/c	...
		Benefactor a/c	...
		Interest a/c	...
		Sales a/c	...
Total	1,337 3 0		...
General Postage account	...		...
Journal's account	...		...
Research Scholarship account	...		...
Surplus of Income over Expenditure	...		...
			...
Total	12,374 7 0	Total	12,374 7 0

## Balance Sheet at 31st of March 1948

LIABILITIES		INVESTMENT AND ASSESSMENT	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Due Expenditure	...	Loan a/c	...
Surplus of Income over Expenditure on 1st April 1948	...	Loan paid off	...
Surplus of Income over Expenditure for 1947-48	...		...
		Almirahs a/c	...
		Securities a/c	...
		National P. O. Savings Certificate a/c	...
		Cash at Bank	...
		Cash in hand	...
		Suspense a/c	...
Total	1,45,196 0 7	Total	1,45,196 0 7

(Sd.) M. SARAN  
Hony. Auditor

(Sd.) A. SIDDIQUI  
Hony. Treasurer

(Sd.) UMESHA MISHRA  
Hony. Secretary



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GANGANATHA JHA  
RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD FOR  
1947—48

ON behalf of the Executive Committee of the *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* I place before the Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Institute a Report of its activities for 1947-48. During the year under review individual efforts continued to be made to raise funds. Due to the serious illness of the President, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, his valuable help and guidance could not be secured. The non-recurring grant of Rs. 2,990/- from the U. P. Government did not help us to expand our activities to any appreciable extent. It is gratifying to note that the Bihar Government has been pleased to donate a sum of Rs. 5,000/- for which we are very thankful. We are also very thankful to our Vice-President Dr. Amaranatha Jha who has continued to give us a Research scholarship and has secured donations amounting to Rs. 7,500/- during the period under review. Due to continuous labour trouble in the Press we could not publish earlier Sanskrit Documents, the first publication of the Institute. Its printing has now been complete and I hope the book will be published very soon. It is due to the Press trouble again that the publication of our Research Journal is so much delayed. Efforts are, however, being made to bring it up to date before long.

The Members are aware of the various schemes which the Institute has got before it, but at present our first necessity is to have a building of our own. All our efforts are, therefore, directed towards the construction of a



portion of it as early as possible in order to shift our Library and the Office from the Hindu Boarding House where the Institute has been located for the last several years. It is not possible to expand our activities any more without a building. We have approached the Central and the Provincial Governments for a special grant for the building, and we hope the response will be quite satisfactory. But it is also a fact that we cannot entirely depend upon the Government grants. I draw the attention of generous donors, scholars and those interested in Indology towards the importance of having a full-fledged Institute of Indology well-equipped with an up-to-date library containing books in print and also in manuscripts with highly qualified research scholars working in calm and quite atmosphere for the advancement of higher researches in Indology. Without their sympathy and substantial financial help it will not be possible to equip the Institute in all its aspects. We know of no such Institutions which have grown without public help and we trust they will do their best to make this Institute worthy of its name.

### MEMBERSHIP

The total number of Ordinary Members of the Institute on the 1st of January 1949 was 84 as against 96 of the previous year. The number of Life-members is 82 as against 80 of the last year. The number of Benefactors, however, is 19 as against 12 of the previous year. The total number of all the members of the Institute at present is 208. We have lost one life member during the year. The names of some of the Ordinary members have been dropped from the list for non-payment of their subscription for more than a year and those of a few others because their address could not be traced in Pakistan.



## MEETINGS

There were two meetings of the Executive Committee this year. Most of the other business was transacted by correspondence.

## PUBLICATIONS

During the year under review we have published parts 3 and 4 of Vol. IV and parts 1 to 3 of Vol. V of our Quarterly Research Journal containing about 541 pages. We are doing our best to bring it up-to-date, but the constant Press trouble has always come in our way to achieve the end. The publication of the Sanskrit Documents is now almost ready and before long we shall be able to place it in the hands of our scholars. We have selected some rare works for publication and if funds permit we shall take up some of them for publication in near future.

More than fifty books have been received free during the year for review in the Journal. All of them have been placed in the library after they have been reviewed. Besides, we have purchased some books for the use of our research scholars. The manuscript section has been enriched to a large extent. Over one thousand manuscripts have been classified and arranged under separate covers. But many more are still lying in loose pages; those are also being gradually arranged. A research scholar has been engaged to complete the work of cataloguing of printed books.

We have added some more research Journals to our exchange list. Through the courtesy of the editors of the various Journals we have been able to complete the sets of several of them.

This is in brief the survey of the work done during the course of the year under review. I had placed all our needs before the members in the last report. But just at present I want to emphasise the immediate need of having



a well equipped and suitable building for the Institute. We are spending over Rs. 15,000/- for the construction of a portion of it only. But if we get sufficient funds we shall be able to construct the rest of the building also. Besides, we need very badly funds for research scholarship. Just at present we have only two. But there is a great need for many more. We should not forget that we are far behind in research work done in original sources. All this needs encouragement and financial help from generous donors. The members of the Institute are reminded that it is also one of their duties to make personal efforts to secure more and more funds for the work of the Institute. It is they who can realise the importance of the work more than others and if they care to spend some time to convince people of our needs, we are sure we shall get sufficient help from them.

Lastly, it is my pleasant duty to express my sincere gratitude to those who have helped the Institute with generous donations, contributions of articles and presents of books during the year. My thanks are also due to my colleagues who have helped me with their suggestions and kind cooperation from time to time towards the growth and development of research under the Institute.

Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,

Allahabad.

April 9, 1949.

Umesha Mishra

Secretary.



# FINANCIAL ESTIMATE FOR 1949—50

## INCOME

	Rs.
1. Donations	... 20,000
2. Governments grants	... 10,000
Bihar Government	... 5,000
U. P. Government	... 5,000
3. Life Membership	... 600
4. Annual Membership	... 1,000
5. Non-recurring grant for buildings from the U. P. Govt.	... 75,000
6. Interest on Securities	... 3,500
7. Sales of Journal etc.	... 300
8. Donations for Research Scholarship from Dr. Amaranatha Jha	... 780
	<hr/> 1,11,180
Interest on the Reserve fund invested	... 4,000
Total	1,07,180
Expenditure over and above the income	... 7,400
Total	<hr/> 1,14,580

## EXPENDITURE

	Rs.
1. Pandit 45/- p.m.	... 540
2. Clerk 30/- p.m.	... 360
3. Peon 15/- p.m. + 15/- p.m. D.A.	... 360
4. Chowkidar 15/- + 15/- p.m. D.A. from July 1949	... 270
5. Publication of the Journal	... 4,000
6. Scholarships	... 2,400
7. Purchase of books	... 1,500
8. Purchase of Mss.	... 1,000
9. Postage	... 100
10. Binding of books and Journals	... 300
11. Cloth for binding Mss.	... 100
12. Publication of books	... 5,000
13. Furniture	... 1,000
14. Contingencies	... 100
15. Auditor's fees	... 50
16. Building with its Equipment	... 95,000
17. Special grant to purchase Tibetan Tanjur	... 2,500
	<hr/> 1,14,580



**Observations of the Treasurer on the Budgeted Estimates.**

SIR,

I beg leave to make the following observations on the Budgeted Estimates for the year 1949-50:—

1. The Budgeted Estimates submitted for the year 1949-50 have been based on the Institute's commitments which include a new item this year, namely that of the proposed building for the Institute, absorbing the sum of Rs. 95,000/-.

2. The income from Government grants has been estimated at approximately Rs. 85,000/- which amount includes, besides the annual grants-in-aid from the Governments of the United Provinces and of Bihar, a sum of Rs. 75,000/- as non-recurring grant for the Institute's building which is already under construction.

3. The income from membership has been estimated a total figure of Rs. 1,600/- which is only slightly higher than that of the year 1947-48 which was Rs. 1,217/8/-.

4. The total amount under the head "Donations" has been estimated at Rs. 2,780/- as against Rs. 4,890/- received in the year 1947-48.

5. The income from securities and reserve fund deposit has been estimated at Rs. 7,500/- as against Rs. 6,201/3/- received under that head in the year 1947-48.

6. On the Expenditure side practically every head shows an increase over the figures of the previous years. Provision had also to be made for certain new items of Expenditure necessitated by the growing needs of the Institution.

7. The total income for the year 1949-50 is estimated at Rs. 1,07,180/- and the total Estimated expenditure is Rs. 1,14,580/- So it is feared that the Institute must



be prepared to face a deficit of Rs. 7,400/- at the close of the current year. Owing to the increasing needs of the Institute there seems little possibility of any substantial economy in Expenditure without hampering the useful activities of the Institute. It will, therefore, have to continue, with greater vigour, its efforts at securing more and more donations and grants and also at widening the circle of its members.

Allahabad.  
The 8th April 1949.

A. SIDDIQUI  
Hon. Treasurer.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES OF INDIA—published by D. Sambasiva Rao, Silpi Publications, 10, Narsingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras. Price Rs. 18/-.

India is passing through a severe economic crisis at present. The Partition of the country has created so many problems—political, economic, social and religious. Fortunately the peace of the land has not been disturbed on the transference of power from the British to the Indian hands. The States have been integrated and refugees are being settled gradually. But on the economic front the Government cannot claim any success. Not that our leaders are not conscious of this fact. In fact, they know it to their cost. Pt. Nehru was himself the Chairman of the National Planning Committee for some time. Since then, a number of plans have appeared and disappeared, and the Government has also appointed numerous Committees from time to time to consider the different aspects of our economic problem, but the situation has not improved an iota, rather it is worse than before.

There are different schools of thought regarding the future pattern of the country's economy. Some believe that it should be modelled on the British or American line where man has been mostly replaced by machinery. While others hold that it is a vicious system and will not suit our conditions and culture. Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest exponent of this view. He believed in the utmost decentralization of power, both political and economic. Modern Capitalism leads to concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands, resulting in combinations and trusts which prove too powerful for any government. His soul was agonized when he saw lakhs of people lying homeless on the pavements in Bombay or Calcut-



ta, or herded together like cattle in *chawls and bustees*. The whole atmosphere of a factory is simply choking while in case of cottage industries the artisan lives in his home with his family in spacious surroundings. He believed that the modern machine system is based on violence and exploitation. It leads to economic wars and world conflagration. It may appear to cost less by machine but when we include the social cost, I mean, the misery and monotony of the industrial worker, and loss of lives and property in economic wars, we come to the conclusion that the modern system, based too much on specialization and exchange, is not to the best interests of humanity. It makes the man an automaton and soulless. He is not allowed to develop his personality. For these reasons the Mahatma gave the artisan, particularly the weaver, a new status in society. He advocated not the mass production but production by masses.

Apart from ideological considerations even practical wisdom demands that we should develop our cottage industries. What is needed is a balanced economy. We have vast and varied resources. The nature has not been niggardly to us. What we lack is the human factor, the will to do. Japan became a formidable competitor to the western nations by her organization and discipline. Cottage industries occupied a very high place in that country as well as in Germany. India has always been famous for the art and skill of her craftsmen. It was the impact of the British economy that destroyed our old organization. Since 1920 efforts have been made to revitalize the country's cottage industries, but nothing substantial has been achieved so far except in the matter of handloom production.

The book under review is a compilation rather than a dissertation. It is a compendium and a book of reference on cottage industries. Barring a few disjointed



articles the whole work is the collection of Government reports. The book has a respectable size. It is very well illustrated and got up, but the price is rather high.

K. L. Govil.

SRIMAT THAKURBANI CHARITRA CHINTARATNA SAMGRAHA—  
edited from Mss. by Sarada Charan Dhar, Sahitya-  
bharati, Sakti Press, Sylhet; pp. 94; As. -/10/-.

With the advent of the Muslim Rule in Bengal, Islamic nations gradually and imperceptibly influenced the modes of religious thought there, leading to the more or less monotheistic systems of faith in our country. Thakur Baninath was one such 'Saint' who though born a Brahmin, soon believed that to counteract the spread of Islam, as it were, it was necessary to make the conception of God more democratic by saying that there was no difference between Ram and Rahim, between the *Sinni* of the Pirs and the Prasad from the temple. Even the untouchables were accorded a more respectable place in his 'religion' where the idea of a formless God, to be effective amongst the masses, was transformed into a loving and more direct God.

It is difficult to say if this new creed was not merely a modified offshoot of the Bhakti movement which inculcated that *Karma* is *dharma*. Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya among others had already emphasised the unity of God due to Muslim influences and Thakur Bani-nath's faith in many ways comes near theirs. The sincerity of his faith however, as the editor of this brochure leads us to believe, cannot be denied and the story of his life would therefore be interesting for those engaged in researches on the obscure religious cults of Bengal.

Amar Mukerji.











